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NSC BRIEFING

23 December 1953

IMPLICATIONS OF FRENCH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

- A. Backbround
- Sharp division of economic interests determines political following of most French parties.
- 2. Since the war, general political trend has been to the right, but party platforms still focus on appealing to the left -- in an unsuccessful attempt to win the 25% of French electorate which votes Communist.
- Center submerged in basic conflict between right and left.
- 4. Since last summer Guy Mollet, Secretary General of Socialists, has been dickering with leaders of three center parties the Popular Republicans, the Resistance Union and the Radical Socialists

-- in attempt to form a
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"Social and Democratic Front."

- a. Mollet seems aiming at new elections which he hopes would permit a left-center coalition. No known results.
- B. Election Impasse
- 1. Division within Radical Socialist party generally held responsible for election deadlock. Younger group desires to avoid rightist label and to orient party toward coalition envisaged by Mollet.
- Scattering of anti-Laniel votes from other center and right parties was probably sufficient to make R_adical Socialist split decisive.
- 3. Laniel's obstinacy reflected belief that, as in June cabinet crisis, center would give way.
- 4. EDC not a direct issue.

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- a. entered into early party maneuvering but
- b. pro-EDC Socialists voted for their party colleague Naegelen -on basis of pre-election agreement that EDC not involved.

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- C. Political Outlook -- Internal
- Formation of a minority cabinet for a specific purpose such as EDC ratification is an outside possibility.
- Difficulty in forming any coalition will intensify pressure for new National Assembly elections, but
 - a. Most deputies agree that elections under the present system would not change the present composition of the Assembly.
 - Attempt to revise present
 electoral system would produce
 serious opposition in National
 Assembly

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and possibly a complete stalemate.

- 3. Threat of dictatorship. As a result of public disgust with impotence exhibited by assembly, the possibility of a coup now gets serious discussion, where as previously it was dismissed as idle rumor.
- D. Indications for French Foreign Policy
- 1. European integration may be determining factor in selection of new government.
- 2. November foreign policy debate showed;
 - a. Nationalist sentiment in Assembly stronger than expected.
 - b. Laniel dependent on nationalistic deputies.
 - c. Clear-cut decision on EDC not then possible.
- 3. Dissatisfaction with present foreign policy growing:

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- a. Search being intensified for alternatives to present EDC proposals.
- b. Third force sentiment reviving.
- 4. Accordingly, in impending talks with USSR, France's desire to avoid German rearmament may weaken solidarity of three Western powers.
- 5. On the other hand, no indications yet that the election crisis is undermining the broad non-communist support the National Assembly gives to NATO.
 - a. Bidault has urged that this policy be strengthened, and he still commands support of Popular Republicans who are essential to any coalition.
 - b. Both Socialists and ex-Gaullists
 favor a strong Western defense
 plan but want it to include more

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than the six EDC powers.

Soviet protestations of friendship with scepticism. Both press
and government have been quick to
recall contrary instances of
Soviet attitude toward France.